

derness, Shoshone National Forest, in the State of Wyoming, and for other purposes, with a House amendment thereto, insist on the House amendment, and agree to the conference asked by the Senate.

Mr. SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado? The Chair hears none, and appoints the following conferees: Messrs. JOHNSON of California, UDALL, RONCALIO, KYL, and LLOYD.

REV. MAX E. SAAR, ESTONIAN EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH

(Mr. PATTEN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, I take pleasure in telling my colleagues that the Reverend Max E. Saar, who gave us his blessing in the opening prayer, is of Estonian background. The Estonians have about two churches in New Jersey. I am happy that Reverend Saar lives in my district, and I want all Members to know that my association with the Estonians and the others of the Baltic States leads me to believe that the people from those countries are all industrious, intelligent, wonderful citizens.

As far as love of our institutions, our democratic processes, and our freedom is concerned, I can tell you that the people who come from Estonia yield to no other American. They are really great citizens, and I have the honor to welcome here today Reverend Saar.

On February 24, 1918, Estonia was declared an independent country—the fulfillment of the yearnings and hopes through many centuries under German and Russian rule.

From 1918 to 1920, the newly established country went through their war of independence with their previous rulers, in which they were victorious. A democratic house of representatives was elected and a government established.

Mr. Speaker, democracy is well-rooted in the minds and hearts of Estonians. They have never had monarchy in their long history. During its short period of independence—February 24, 1918 until June 21, 1940—Estonia grew into a modern state.

Since the Proclamation of Independence on February 24, 1918, constitutes the highest point of Estonia as a nation, that day is most sacred for all Estonians wherever they are. That is why I was especially touched and inspired by Reverend Saar's moving prayer.

SCHOOL BUSING

(Mr. DORN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, busing of school children is a financial burden on local school districts. Today, I am introducing a bill which would provide Federal aid to those school districts forced to bus school children by orders of the Federal courts and busing by decrees of the Department of Health, Education,

and Welfare. Also, Mr. Speaker, my bill would provide financial aid to those districts voluntarily busing school children. To cut off Federal aid to those school districts already busing to prevent busing in Detroit is an outrage and a mockery of justice and fairness. The dual school system in South Carolina has been eliminated. South Carolina school districts are busing and cannot return to the dual system or segregated school systems. The time has come to eliminate dual justice in the United States. The same law that applies to South Carolina should apply to Detroit in voting rights, busing of school children, equal employment, and segregation. We must not have one code of ethics and justice for one area of the country and exempt other areas. This indeed should be a Nation indivisible with liberty and justice for all. Constitutional amendments and amendments to the Education Act are only designed to relieve the great cities of the burden of busing school children while busing continues in South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, many of our citizens are receiving tax notices now—notice of greatly increased property taxes. Local property taxes are increasing at a fantastic rate. The Federal Government, who ordered busing, should help finance busing thus providing more money for quality education.

CONFERENCE ON RADIO FREE EUROPE AND RADIO LIBERTY

(Mr. MORGAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, I regret to report to the House that the efforts of the managers on the part of the S. 18, a bill to authorize interim financing for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, have met with no success.

Throughout the conference, the managers on the part of the Senate have refused to make any accommodation whatsoever to the position taken by the House, by a vote of 278 to 12, on November 19, 1971.

They have said, in effect, "Either the House accepts the Senate bill or there will be no bill at all."

Under some circumstances, such a solution may have been necessary, even advisable. In this case, however, the issues separating the two Houses are so basic that the acceptance of the proposal of the Senate conferees would have done violence to the position that we were instructed to uphold.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to briefly recount the developments which brought us to this impasse.

Little more than a year ago, it became public knowledge that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, the two American-run radio stations which beam local and international news to the people of eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, had been financed largely for some 20 years by the Central Intelligence Agency.

Proposals were subsequently made in both Houses that the financing of these broadcasting activities be brought into the open and accomplished through spe-

cial authorizations and appropriations to the Department of State.

In the spring of last year, the administration requested that the Congress establish an independent corporation to finance and manage the two stations.

On August 2, 1971, the Senate approved a bill, S. 18, which authorized an appropriation of \$35 million for the financing of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty through the Department of State. The authorization was limited to fiscal year 1972.

On September 14, 1971, the Committee on Foreign Affairs began its consideration of S. 18 and of the administration's recommendations.

After hearings and initial executive meetings, it became apparent that the committee was not ready to make a permanent disposition of this matter—either by following the Senate proposal and allowing the two radio stations to exist until the end of this fiscal year, or by accepting the administration's recommendations and placing these broadcasting activities on a permanent basis.

The committee felt that the Congress knew all too little about these operations on which nearly half a billion dollars had been spent in the preceding 20 years.

And so the committee, by a vote of 23 to 1, accepted a compromise advanced by the Honorable DANTE B. FASCELL of Florida, and amended S. 18 to provide for the establishment of a Presidential Commission to study Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, to reach some conclusions regarding their relevance to our foreign policy undertakings of the 1970's, and to report its findings to the Congress before the end of this year.

* The amendment further provided that the Commission would go out of business on June 30, 1973 and that the two radio stations would be financed until that time through the Chairman of the Commission.

This seemed like an eminently sensible interim solution. It would provide the Congress, through membership in the study Commission and the Commission's studies, with an opportunity to obtain the information necessary to make a sound disposition of the entire matter.

The House approved S. 18, as amended, on November 19, 1971, by a vote of 271 to 12.

And this is where the matter stood when the conferees first met on January 26, 1972.

It became apparent at that time that the Senate conferees favored abolishing the two stations.

At that first meeting, as well as during the weeks that followed and through yesterday's session, the managers on the part of the House tried to work out some compromise that would be consistent with the positions taken by the two Houses.

We failed. The Senate conferees remained adamant.

Last evening, all of the House conferees affixed their signatures to a document which would report the conference to be in disagreement. The signatures were delivered to the Senate conferees this morning.

The matter now rests with the Senate.

CONFERENCE COMMITTEE ON S. 18

Mr. MAILLIARD. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished chairman, Dr. MORGAN, has advised the House what has happened with regard to the conference on S. 18 and the House amendment thereto. It is a sad story where the conferees of one House are absolutely unwilling to consider the point of view expressed by an overwhelming vote in the other coequal body. The arrogance of such behavior severely strains any effective relationship between the two bodies without which the national interest cannot be served.

The question of the continuation of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty beyond the next week or two is now squarely in the lap of the other body. We who represented the House in this conference tried our best to find a middle ground between the expressed wishes of each of the two branches of Congress, and were totally rebuffed.

RADIO FREE EUROPE AND RADIO LIBERTY

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, as one of the House conferees on legislation to continue the activities of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, I am embarrassed that we must report to the House that the conference committee has been unable to reach any agreement. At the outset let me say that this outcome was in no way the fault of the House conferees. It was our earnest desire to find a basis for agreement.

Unfortunately, the conference committee met only twice. The second time was only yesterday, and then with but a few hours' notice.

By yesterday, I might add, the legislative authority for these programs had already expired. Our failure to reach agreement will affect over 3,000 employees of the two organizations involved.

This is a most serious matter, Mr. Speaker, and the sad fact is that there is no real reason why the discussions should have been deadlocked. The differences between the bills passed by the House and the Senate could have been reconciled had good will been shown, and reasonable concessions made by both sides. Had this occurred, the legislative authority for continuing these programs could have been agreed upon.

You may ask, Mr. Speaker, why no agreement was reached. The answer is simple. The Senate conferees—at least three out of five of them—were unwilling to compromise. They have made it evident, both publicly and privately, that they viewed the expiration of existing authority as an opportunity to kill these programs. By their refusal to seek, let alone reach, a compromise with the House conferees, they may have acted within their rights as conferees, but by their action they unquestionably perverted the legislative process.

As I said on the House floor 2 days ago the conference committee, in the legitimate exercise of its responsibilities, could not have killed these programs. Both the Senate and the House had approved their continuation. All that was in issue was the length of time that these

programs should continue and how the funding should be handled. And yet now, as the result of the failure to reach any agreement, three Senate conferees may have achieved what they feel is desirable, namely, the end of the Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. If they should be successful in achieving their own ends it will have been because of their manipulation of the legislative process, in defiance of the expressed desire of both the House and Senate to have these programs continue. This is a sad development. In my opinion their refusal to seek a compromise is irresponsible, and a reflection on Congress itself. This willful frustration of the will of Congress will have immediate and adverse repercussions abroad, and will prove the inability of Congress to see to it that its own decisions are carried out.

EVIDENCE CONFIRMS GREAT SUCCESS OF PRESIDENT NIXON'S MISSION TO PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

(Mr. VANIK asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, although full reports are not yet in, sufficient evidence has been developed to confirm the great success of President Richard Nixon's mission to the People's Republic of China.

He has breached the wall. He has developed a climate for extensive communication and exchange with 800 million people with whom we must share the world in peace. His mission was brave. His achievement is salutary.

It is my earnest hope that this endeavor will set the stage for peace, for disarmament, for drastic reduction in defense expenditures. If, through these events, the President's budget for national defense can be reduced by \$15 billion, other leading powers of the world can join us in committing our wealth and converting our resources to financial integrity and to the unsolved problems of our people and our environment.

HOUSE RESTAURANT DEFICIT REDUCED—SELECT SUBCOMMITTEE TO BE APPOINTED ON NONESSENTIAL EMPLOYEES OF THE CAPITOL

(Mr. HAYS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks, and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, the House Administration Committee has accumulated figures which indicate that the deficit in the House restaurant will be reduced by a quarter of a million dollars for this fiscal year over last year. We hope we can get the deficit cut out altogether.

In looking over some of the facts we have assembled, I want to announce to the House I am going to appoint a select subcommittee of the House Administration Committee on nonessential employees in the offices of the various officers of the House and other people who work in the Capitol. I believe we might have

about a half-million dollar savings there, and when I announce who is going to be on the three-man subcommittee, I think Members will agree with me they are the gentlemen who can do the job.

CORRECTION OF ROLL CALL

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, on roll-call No. 269, on September 29, 1971, a quorum call, I am recorded as absent. I was present and answered to my name. I ask unanimous consent that the permanent Record and Journal be corrected accordingly.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee?

There was no objection.

PROPOSED CHANGES IN FUNDING OF SOCIAL SECURITY PROGRAM

(Mr. CONABLE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. CONABLE. Mr. Speaker, for the more than 100 million Americans who either as contributing workers or current beneficiaries rely on the social security program as their primary source of protection against economic insecurity, the fiscal integrity of the social security trust fund is of paramount importance. For more than one-third of a century—throughout the entire history of the social security program—the fiscal integrity of the trust fund has been based on certain actuarial principles consistently followed. In view of the difficulties involved in making long-range cost estimates for a program affecting so many workers over a period of 75 years, there are many contingencies that can ultimately develop that could adversely affect financing in the future.

For this reason and in order to provide some latitude to meet future benefit increases and make other program improvements, Congress has throughout the history of the program required that long-range cost estimates be made on conservative but sound assumptions.

Legislation was introduced by the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee yesterday that would fundamentally change the methodology on the basis of which the actuarial soundness of the social security system has been measured throughout its entire history. Let me emphasize that this is simply not a question of the present benefit levels being overfinanced in accordance with the existing procedures for computing the actuarial soundness of the system as some people have mistakenly concluded. The proposal involves a fundamental change in the methodology by which the fiscal soundness of the program has always been measured. It is this change, rather than any overfinancing, the bill would use to provide a 20-percent benefit increase at the same time tax rates are reduced sharply throughout the next 40 years.

Before Congress adopts such a fundamental change, public hearings should be provided which will enable the Ways and Means Committee and the House carefully to scrutinize the recommenda-

policy and the simultaneous release of all persons detained thereunder.

2. Full respect for the civil rights of all the people of Northern Ireland, and the termination of all political, social, economic, and religious discrimination.

3. Implementation of the reforms promised by the Government of the United Kingdom since 1968, including reforms in the fields of law enforcement, housing, employment, and voting rights.

4. Dissolution of the Parliament of Northern Ireland.

5. Withdrawal of all British forces from Northern Ireland and the institution of law enforcement and criminal justice under local control acceptable to all parties.

6. Convening of all interested parties for the purpose of accomplishing the unification of Ireland.

SENATOR CARL HAYDEN

Mr. BROCK. Mr. President, never having known the late Senator Carl Hayden, I have no unique anecdotes or personal remembrances to offer with my respects. I know only of his long and prestigious service to this body. For this record I have the greatest admiration.

A man who brought his home to statehood, saw the coming of the age of the telephone, the automobile, radio, television and space must have known the profound and capricious nature of this land. I only wish I had the benefit of his knowledge and perspective gained from his long life and tenure in the Senate. The wisdom of age is not easily given or accepted, but I imagine that Carl Hayden would have given freely.

Arizona has lost one of its greatest statesmen, a man whose service to his country was exceeded by no one. The motto of his beloved Arizona is "Ditat Deus"—God Enriches. Truly, this territory and 48th State of the Union was enriched by his presence.

AFL-CIO URGES FUNDING FOR RADIO FREE EUROPE AND RADIO LIBERTY

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, at midnight tonight the funding for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty will end. At this time the continuing resolution will expire and there will be no authorization measure to provide for appropriations. The future of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty waits upon this legislation.

This situation has occurred before in the Congress, but what is startling in this case is that both Houses have already passed authorization bills. What the Congress is waiting for—and it has been waiting for some time—is for the conferees to meet to agree to an acceptable authorization formula. In this case the will of the Congress, and I am confident that it is also the will of the American people, is not being carried out by the conferees for S. 18, the authorization bill for funding these two great radio stations.

The explanation offered is that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty are relics of the cold war and as such should be done away with. I contend that nothing could be farther from the truth, unless the attempt to liberalize thinking in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union

is strictly an effort to promote the cold war. No, it is not. It is an attempt to communicate a variety of views to peoples who would otherwise only hear news as distilled through the controlled press of their closed society. It is an attempt to break down cold war thinking and instill an appreciation for liberty.

If we are to push for a reduction of conflict and further accommodation with the Soviet Union, we have to work in every way possible to pressure Soviet leaders to be flexible in their position. We must be able to communicate with people in and under the influence of the Soviet Union, and we can do just that through Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty's programs. Agreements like the one we are expecting to come out of the strategic arms limitation talks depend on constant information flows. Such positive developments, of which there have been far too few in our relations with the Soviet Union, are made possible only by the behind-the-scenes influence of progressive and informed elements in Soviet society: scientists, writers, educators, and others. Such people in the Soviet Union and other peoples in the Soviet world depend on the core of objective information which they receive in broadcasts by their fellow countrymen over Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe.

It would be tragic for the United States to lose these devoted audiences and the splendid communication facilities which these two radios have built up over the years. Their constructive role is documented in a recent study by the Congressional Research Service, which should be given wide public circulation.

I, too, hope that tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States will one day disappear, but I also believe that failure to save these two radios would not only harm the interest of the United States now in the Soviet world, but would also be a declaration to Europe of a declining American interest in the affairs of the continent.

I now invite the attention of Senators an excellent resolution adopted yesterday by the AFL-CIO executive committee meeting in Miami. I commend Mr. George Meany and the executive committee for having passed this timely resolution and given such complete support to one of our country's most exemplary organizations. This resolution expresses firm support for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty because of the great work they have done and will continue to do.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be printed in the RECORD along with today's Washington Post editorial on the same question.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY AFL-CIO EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, MIAMI, FEBRUARY 22, 1972

The future of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty is being decided in Congress.

The closing of these vital communications with the captive peoples of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe will be a clear sign of U.S. capitulation in the war to bring truth and courage to countless millions behind the Iron curtain.

The Soviet Union has spent more than \$300 million annually to stop these effective broadcasts and the Soviet Union has until now failed.

The Executive Council urges the responsible leadership of both Houses of the Congress to demand the passage of a fully funded program which has the overwhelming support of the membership in both Houses and the American people.

There being no objection, the items were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RADIO FREE EUROPE STILL HAS A PART TO PLAY

When American public—or political—opinion swings, it tends to swing hard, and this is likely to be more and more of a problem for the Nixon Administration as it trumpets its "breakthrough" in Peking this week and, presumably, further successes in Moscow in May. No matter what the true measure of the rapprochement achieved in either Communist capital, there will be a tendency on the part of some to exploit a "new era" in world relationships as a reason for scuttling anything and everything that smacks of the dark, old Cold War days. A case in point is the effort now being conducted in the Senate, largely by Senator Fulbright, to choke off appropriations for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, which beam broadcasts into Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, respectively, with the help of government funds. The CIA used to finance these broadcasts covertly and after this was brought inescapably to light two years ago the government took over the burden openly, but on a temporary basis while debate continued about whether these operations should be continued, and in what form.

With the question still unsettled, a continuing resolution authorizing temporary funding of RFE and RL expires today and the money will run out in a few weeks. This is just what Senator Fulbright thinks should happen, his point being that everything is changing, what with Mr. Nixon's new approaches and new evidence of conciliation in China and the Soviet Union, and that therefore RFE and RL should "take their rightful place in the graveyard of Cold War relics." The Senator would have us believe, on the basis of White House briefings he has received about the President's policy, that broadcasts of this sort behind the Iron Curtain are contrary to the President's purposes in Peking and Moscow.

The President, however, has not only never said as much, but has actually expressed quite the opposite view; in a recent letter to Mr. Stewart Cort, the chairman of a fund which seeks to raise private money to supplement RFE operations, Mr. Nixon said he thinks the free flow of information is "indispensable" to more normal relations between East and West. Given the nature of the service performed by RFE and RL, it would seem to us that their programs fit the President's definition of what is still needed in Europe, for all the bright hopes of easing tensions and developing detente. For these are not provocative, propagandistic diatribes and still less do they "sell" America, U.S.I.A.-style. Rather, what both stations attempt to do is tell the people of Eastern Europe and Russia news about themselves and their own countries which their governments don't want them to hear. They do this job professionally, responsibly, and effectively, by almost all accounts, and the only real question for Congress, in our view, is how RFE and RL should be set up in a more permanent way so that they can go on doing it.

THE PEOPLE'S STATE OF THE UNION

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, it is a tradition every year that the President of the United States presents to Congress his vision of the state of the Union. Then in established ritual, the President's sup-